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## Language Maintenance and Shift in Barcelona: Changing Abilities and Uses of Catalan and Castilian

Margaret Jean Simmons

This paper analyzes self-reported abilities and uses of Catalan and Castilian, estimates of change in ability and use in recent years, and reports on code switching behaviors based on detailed interviews with 69 residents of Barcelona. The focus is on the individual's reaction and adaptation to the 1991 communication environment after several years of official language planning promoting Catalan. Increased ability and use of Catalan were reported by L1 Catalan, L1 Castilian and L1 Other speakers. Factors associated with increased use of Catalan were coming to live in Barcelona, work and an overall increase of Catalan in the environment. Maintenance of Catalan is reported by many L1 Catalan speakers; some L1 Castilian speakers report use of Catalan with other L1 Castilian speakers which suggests the possibility for potential shift of Castilian in some groups of speakers.

本論はバルセロナ在住の話者69名を徹底的に取材して得られた資料に基づいて、カタラン語及びカスティリア語の運用能力とその実態、ここ数年に推定される変化、両言語使用者の使用言語の選択行動を分析したものである。論の焦点はカタラン語の使用を推し進める言語政策施行数年後の1991年当時の言語使用の状況に人々がそれぞれどのように反応し、どのように適応したかという所にある。カタラン語を第一言語とするものからも、カスティリア語を第一言語とするものからも、更にその他の言語を第一言語とするものからも、カタラン語の運用能力が向上しその使用が頻繁になったことが報告された。カタラン語の使用頻度が増加したことに結び付けて考えられる要因はバルセロナに転居したこと、仕事及び全体に周囲のカタラン語使用が増えたことなどが挙げられる。カタラン語を第一言語とする話者からはカタラン語を使い続けているという報告が多かった。カスティリア語を第一言語とする話者の中にはカスティリア語を第一言語とする者と話す場合にもカタラン語を使用すると述べたものが数名あり、これはある集団ではカスティリア語からのカタラン語への移行がかなり高い可能性があることを示唆するものである。

### Introduction

This is a descriptive study based on interviews with residents of Barcelona concerning their self-reported abilities and utilization of the Catalan and Castilian<sup>1</sup> languages in Barcelona, Spain. The data was collected in 1991, a period of active language planning, which began in the late 1970's, on the part of the Catalan government to raise the status and increase the utilization of Catalan as the autochthonous language, now restored to official status. This study presents self-reported changes in Catalan language ability and utilization and factors associated with these changes. The primary reference which provides context for this report is Jaspaert and Kroon (1991), whose work is based in that of Bourdieu (1982). Three concepts from their work are applied in the present data analysis: 1) the dominant linguistic market (LM1), the first language linguistic market (LM2), and 3) speakers' anticipation of their own ability to produce acceptable linguistic products in LM1.<sup>2</sup>

Increased ability and utilization of Catalan were expected in view of active language planning promoting Catalan. Factors such as a new work environment, marriage and children's bilingualism were expected to be associated with changes in language ability and utilization. It was also expected that participants' self-reported language behavior would give an indication of whether or not the Catalan language was considered to be an expected language choice or a marked choice. In view of the socio-political situation of these two languages in this century, the language choices made by L1 Castilian/L2 Catalan speakers, the immigrant population in Catalunya and their native to Catalunya children, is of primary interest. However, the language choices of L1 Catalan/L2 Castilian and L1 Other (with Catalan and Castilian as additional languages) speakers are also meaningful.

Reviews of the literature have not found similar studies addressing speakers' perceived ability levels and actual use of the two languages and speakers' perceived changes in their ability levels and use.<sup>3</sup> In preparation for a follow-up study, this paper contributes to

these 1991 findings to the body of knowledge about maintenance and shift of Catalan and Castilian.

## Historical Background

Catalan is the language of *Catalunya*, located in northeast Spain. *Catalunya*, which is the Catalan name for this territory and language, rather than the anglicized term of *Catalonia*, will be used in this paper. By doing so, the author wishes to acknowledge the native Catalan name.

Catalan or closely related languages (sometimes referred to as dialects of Catalan) are also spoken in southeast France, the Balearic Islands, and an area of Sardinia. Valencian, spoken south of *Catalunya* in Valencia is very closely related but considered a separate language by many people of that region. Catalan is also the language of *Andorra*. Catalan has been in contact with Castilian and in contact with French on the Iberian Peninsula. There are many overlapping lexical items with Spanish, as well as with other members of the Romance language family. Catalan and Spanish have many grammatical parallels, but the linguistic systems are not identical (see Paulston, 1987, 1992; Vallverdu, 1984).

The regional languages and cultures of Spain experienced a major change after the Civil War, ending in 1936; in *Catalunya*, the political powers prohibited use of Catalan in education, publishing, government and public services. Large numbers of Castilian speakers, native to other regions of Spain, emigrated to *Catalunya* for employment. The combination of factors reinforced the use of Castilian as the official language and created prestige for Castilian over Catalan, at least in public and official spheres. Although many people still spoke Catalan, the spoken language lost its written reflection at the same time it came under the influence of greatly increased contact with Castilian (see Paulston 1987, 1992; Sabater, 1984; Vallverdu, 1984).

During the approximately 40 years of Franco's rule, the Catalan language underwent "dialectalization" (Woolard, 1989b). Catalan became a minority language in its own territory through language politics and language planning.

## Review of Literature

Language choice is influenced by the sociolinguistic environment, the individual's position and roles in society, the individual's linguistic repertoire and the attitudes towards the languages involved. As a context for this study, it is necessary to draw on a wide range of concepts: language maintenance and shift, language loss, language revival and spread, language and group membership, attitudes towards languages, speaker's abilities and degrees of bilingualism, language acquisition resources in education, code switching and uses of code switching for communicative needs as well as to express and negotiate socio-political relationships between interlocutors.

Work in the area of language shift, spread and maintenance (Cooper, 1982; Dorian, 1989; Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Fishman, 1968), reversing language shift (Fishman, 1990), language revival and vitality (Fishman, 1990, 1983; Slone, 1989) describe the large scale social situation, elements necessary for a language's survival and the process of revival where language shift has occurred.

Official status and use in governmental communication is an influential factor in language support. Bourhis (1983) shows the influence of governmental language legislation to promote French on speakers' attitudes towards French and English. The research includes self-reports of French and English usage in Quebec; findings indicate apparent achievement of the desired outcomes for French on the part of both L1 francophones and L1 anglophones.

Language choices are affected by speakers' group associations and their desires to express solidarity with or distinction from various interlocutors. A strong association of ethnic identity (see Strubell i Trueta, 1984) and language can increase language maintenance through native speaker-native speaker interactions; however, such an association may also discourage using the native language with non-native speakers and limit language spread (see Woolard & Gahng, 1990).

Paulston (1987) makes a distinction between languages spoken by ethnic compared to

nationalistic groups and argues that a factor in Catalan's survival has been its association with a sense of nationalism and geographic territory (also see, Esteva i Fabregat, 1984.).

Code switching between languages and within sentences is often seen in bilingual communities and may have several motivations (see Fasold, 1984, for an overview of code switching; Heller, 1999). A variety of proficiencies in each language on the part of developing bilinguals may require the speaker to periodically resort to borrowing from their language of higher proficiency. Proficient bilinguals may converge to the language of monolingual or developing bilingual speakers. Codes switching may also be used to adjust social distance as an index of social negotiations (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1993; Scotton, 1976). The choice of language by a bilingual speaker may be used in creating or in neutralizing conflict (Heller, 1988 and Scotton, 1976). Woolard (1989, 1988) and Calsamiglia and Tuson (1984) address code switching between Catalan and Castilian.

Genesee and Bourhis (1988) found convergent language accommodation to be a possible strategy to promote ethnic harmony between interlocutors. Gorter (1987) observed four patterns of language choice in the use of Frisian and Dutch in conversations in a bilingual context in a bureaucratic setting: convergence, neutrality, switching and asymmetry. Attitudes towards Catalan and Castilian are discussed in Woolard (1984, 1989a) and Ros i Garcia (1984).

Jaspaert and Kroon (1991), whose work references Bourdieu (1982), define language shift as a change in preference of the language used with same ethnic group members, and language loss as the decrease in linguistic competence of speakers to use a language. Their work with Italian immigrant speakers in Flanders and the Netherlands presents a model for analyzing factors affecting an individual speaker's language choices. They employ three intermediary concepts: 1) the structure of the linguistic market of the dominant group (LM1), 2) the importance of the linguistic market of the smaller ethnic group (LM2), and 3) immigrant speakers' confidence in their ability to produce acceptable linguistic products for the dominant linguistic market. Secondly, they focus on communication situations where speakers have a *real choice* of languages, i.e., with other bilingual speakers of the same first language and the same second language. These three intermediary concepts and *real choice* of languages are the main reference points for the discussion of the results of this study.

Other studies reporting on abilities to communicate in the Catalan language include Carulla (1990) and Hall (1990). Both analyze 1986 census information from the *Consorci d'Informació i Documentació de Catalunya*. The census asked respondents to state their knowledge of Catalan in terms of understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The responses include "able or not able" to use Catalan in these skill areas applied to everyday topics and situations; no rating of ability, such as 'good, average or poor' was included. Carulla's work adds data concerning self-reported ability in terms of "bien, regular and nada" for university students in 1988. Neither study showed participants' estimated actual use of the two languages. These are large-scale studies which consider all speakers responding to the census. Data analysis considers age and geographic distribution but not subgroups of speakers on the basis of L1. Hall's data for *Catalunya*, including Barcelona City, is given in Figure 1.

1986 Census Data presented in Hall (1990)

percentage of inhabitants able to	Total Catalonia	Provinces				Barcelona City	Barcelona suburban boroughs
		Barcelona	Girona	Lleida	Taragona		
understand Catalan	90.3	89.0	95.1	96.3	93.2	92.9	81.5
speak it	64.0	59.9	80.1	82.8	73.2	67.4	42.0
read it	60.5	58.2	70.7	71.5	64.0	66.8	43.5
write it	31.5	30.2	39.4	36.9	32.2	33.5	19.3
N (in thousands)	5856	4521	478	345	512	1673	1300

Figure 1

Knowledge of the Catalan in Catalonia as a whole, the four Catalan provinces, the city of Barcelona, and the suburban boroughs of Barcelona Metro. Corp. % of inhabitants aged 2 years and over. 1986. (Hall, p. 18).

## The Study

### Method

Seventy-five detailed interviews, approximately one hour long were conducted by the same researcher. The researcher speaks Catalan and Castilian as non-native languages with approximately equal fluency. All potential participants were approached in Castilian as that seemed to be the language expected to be used by foreign persons. The project was explained and agreeing interviewees were asked which language they preferred to use for the interview. Interviews were then conducted in either Catalan or Castilian according to the interviewee's preference.

The interviews were partially standardized by a questionnaire (described below); open conversation was also included. The interviewee's answers were recorded on the questionnaire by the researcher during the interview.

### Research instrument

The questionnaire was prepared to describe the participants' perceived current and previous use of Catalan and Castilian. The instrument consisted of the following sections: a) personal information, b) an overview of language attitudes, preferences and code switching situations, c) a self-evaluation of ability of the two languages and changes in ability comparing the time of the interview with their perceived abilities in any previous time period, d) a self-report of perceived utilization of the two languages and changes in utilization comparing the time of the interview with perceived utilization in any previous time period, e) a self-report of utilization of the two languages in terms of various communication media, emotional states and topics, e) descriptions of particular communication situations.

The items which will be discussed in this paper are participants' self-reports of their: 1) ability in Catalan, 2) utilization of Catalan and Castilian, 3) domains for each language, 4) bilingualism, 5) language choices and code switching, 6) language choices with known interlocutors. These items are explained in more detail in Appendix 1.

### Participants

Several criteria were used to select participants. An age of twenty or more years was required in order for the participant to have some personal experience with the changes produced by language planning which began in the late seventies. The researcher attempted to interview approximately equal numbers of men and women to avoid a gender bias, although more men than women agreed to be interviewed. Participants were sought in several areas of the city in order to avoid a language bias that might exist in particular neighborhoods. Interviews were conducted in parks where people were spending leisure time and were likely to agree to the interview requiring about one hour. Participants were ultimately selected by their agreement to be anonymously interviewed. Seventy-five persons were interviewed.

After reviewing the questionnaires resulting from the interviews, six were discarded for reasons of 1) excessive incompleteness or 2) strongly or repeatedly expressed political biases that made the self-reported language behaviors seem unreliable. A profile of the participants is given in Appendix 2.

### Results and discussion

Selected items from 69 interviewees, or sub-groups thereof, are considered for analysis and discussion. Not all participants responded to all items; *n* varies for each result. First language is the only demographic factor used for interpretation of these results.

This data was collected in a qualitative, descriptive approach which focused on the individual speaker's profile of bilingualism. Group totals are reported as indications of tendencies; statistical significance is not being claimed, and only gross mathematical descriptions, such as percents and means, have been done for this report.

## Ability to use the Catalan language

The present study asked participants to rate their abilities in Catalan and Castilian on a 6-point scale: excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor and unable. The results of reported abilities in Catalan are shown in Figure 2.

**Self-reported ability in the Catalan language on a scale of 1 (excellent) - 6 (unable)**

Ability/Skill	L1 CT (n = 17)	L1 CS (n = 26)	L1 Other (n = 10)	All (n = 53)
understand	1.1	1.7	1.8	1.5
speak	1.3	2.9	2.9	2.4
read	2.2	2.4	2.6	3.2
write	3.2	4.5	4.7	4.1

**Figure 2**

1 = excellent, 2 = very good, 3 = average, 4 = poor, 5 = very poor, 6 = unable. Means are rounded to the nearest 0.1 to show comparisons for each group and for each skill area. CT = Catalan. CS = Castilian. L1 = first language. Other includes: Dutch, French/ Castilian, Galician, Galician/Castilian, Menorquin and one Catalan/Castilian who insisted on both CS/CT as L1.

Understanding is reported as the best ability for all L1 groups. Reading and then speaking are the next two best abilities for L1 Castilian and L1 Other speakers. L1 Catalan speakers reported higher abilities in speaking compared to reading. Writing is rated as the skill area of least ability for all groups. These results show more reported ability with oral/aural language compared to written language for L1 Catalan speakers; this is expected considering that Catalan is the L1 for this group and many of these interviewees did not learn written Catalan in school. For L1 Castilian and L1 Other participants, the pattern is more comprehensive ability to understand oral and written language and less ability to produce spoken and written language.

The categories "excellent," "very good," "average" have been combined into "basic or better" ability in each skill area (Figure 3) in order to approximate the abilities indicated in Hall (1990, p. 45): *"ability to understand a conversation in Catalan on an everyday topic; ability to carry on a conversation in Catalan on an everyday topic; the ability to read an everyday text in Catalan, such as an advertisement, announcement or newspaper article; ability to write notes, postcards, etc. in reasonably—but not totally—correct Catalan."* The number of participants reporting basic or better ability in this study is shown in Figure 3.

**1991 Participants reporting "basic or better" CATALAN language ABILITY**

Skill Areas	L1 CT n = 17	L1 CS n = 26	L1 other n = 10	all L1 n = 53
understand	100%	92%	90%	94 %
speak	100%	65%	70%	77%
read	88%	89%	80%	87%
write	65%	39%	10%	42%

**Figure 3**

CT = Catalan, CS = Castilian. L1 = first language. n = number of participants responding to this item.

Hall's (1990) methods and sample sizes (see Figure 1) are not equivalent to those of this study; however, a gross comparison implies some trends as shown in Figure 4.

**"Basic or Better" Ability in the Catalan language  
This 1991 study and (Barcelona City) Census Data of 1986 (in Hall, 1990)**

Ability to:	Interviewees 1991 n = 53	Census Data 1986 N = 1,673,000
understand Catalan	94%	92.9%
speak Catalan	77%	67.4%
read Catalan	87%	66.8%
write Catalan	42%	33.5%

**Figure 4**

The results of this (1991) study show a slightly higher average percent of all participants rating themselves as having *basic* or *better* abilities in using the Catalan language

in the four skill areas indicated. Considering the five-year difference and the continued language planning efforts to promote Catalan, it is not surprising to see advances in ability. The L1 Catalan group reported high oral and aural skill and slightly lower abilities in reading and still lower in writing, showing a *spoken vs. written* language ability pattern. The other L1 groups report significantly higher understanding and reading abilities compared to speaking and writing: a *receptive/comprehensive vs. active/productive* language ability pattern.

Concerning ability in Castilian, all persons responding to this item, with two exceptions, rated themselves as having average or above ("basic or better" as in Figure 3) abilities in all skill areas of Castilian. One person with L1 Catalan reported a rating of "4" (poor) in Castilian speaking and writing; one person with L1 Castilian reported a rating of "4" (poor) in writing Castilian. The majority of speakers in the L1 Catalan and L1 Castilian groups rated themselves as "1" (excellent) in all skill areas of Castilian. In the L1 Other group, there is some variation of ratings of "1," "2" and "3."<sup>4</sup>

### Change in ability

Participants were also asked to estimate their change in ability to use the Catalan language in each skill area. The same 6-point scale was used to estimate the perceived ability of the interviewee in a previous time period. Figure 5 shows the reported estimated differences. The number of years between current and previous abilities varies for each speaker; the focus is on perceived change for the individual.

**Perceived Change in Ability: Previous Perceived Ability minus 1991 Perceived Ability in the Catalan Language on a scale of 1 (excellent) to 6 (unable)**

Ability/skill	L1 CT (n = 7)	L1 CS (n = 15)	L1 Other (n = 5)	All (n = 27)
understand	+ .3	+ 1.3	+ 3.8	+ 1.5
speak	+ .3	+ 1.3	+ 2.7	+ 1.3
read	+ .9	+ 2.1	+ 3.2	+ 2.0
write	+ 1.9	+ .7	+ 1.0	+ 1.1

**Figure 5**

Mean reported for each L1 group and total for all participants responding to this item. Calculations are rounded to the nearest 0.1 in order to show gross trends in these small samples. All means reported are positive numbers, i.e., improvements in Catalan language ability.

Catalan language ability was perceived to have improved in all skill areas for all L1 groups. Increase in writing ability is highest in the L1 Catalan group. Increases in abilities with spoken language and with reading are reported in the L1 Castilian and L1 Other groups; understanding has advanced more than speaking; reading has improved more than writing. These increases in the L1 Castilian and L1 Other groups might be associated with increased confidence to actually use the Catalan language.

Abilities in Castilian were reported to remain fairly constant. In the L1 Castilian group, zero change in ability to use Castilian was reported. One person in the L1 Catalan group reported a "-2" (decrease) in Castilian speaking ability and a "-1" (decrease) in Castilian writing ability. In the L1 Other group, one person reported a "+5" (increase) in all skill areas for Castilian.<sup>5</sup>

### Utilization of the Catalan language

Participants were asked to estimate their current utilization (amount of actual use) of each language in their usual daily or weekly communication situations. They were asked to consider the activities of listening, speaking, reading and writing. See Figure 6 on the following page.

**Average Approximate UTILIZATION of CATALAN on a daily or weekly basis in 1991**  
 % utilization of Catalan ( shown here) + % utilization of Castilian (not shown) = 100%

	L1 CT	L1 CS	L1 other	All
<b>listen</b>	50% n = 16 (range: 10 - 80%)	42% n = 23 (range: 5 - 80%)	39% n = 9 (range: 10 - 70%)	44% n = 48 (range: 5 - 80%)
<b>speak</b>	61% n = 16 (range: 25 - 90%)	29% n = 25 (range: 0 - 90%)	19% n = 10 (range: 0 - 40%)	42% n = 51 (range: 0 - 90%)
<b>read</b>	32% n = 16 (range: 0 - 50%)	18% n = 23 (range: 0 - 50%)	15% n = 10 (range: 0 - 50%)	22% n = 49 (range: 0 - 50%)
<b>write</b>	33% n = 16 (range: 0 - 40%)	5% n = 23 (range: 0 - 40%)	2% n = 10 (range: 0 - 20%)	14% n = 49 (range: 0 - 100%)

**Figure 6**

CT = Catalan. CS = Castilian. L1 = first language. n = number of participants responding to this item.<sup>6</sup>

No similar studies for comparison of self-reported amounts of language utilization were found in the literature (see note 3). These 1991 results show the same patterns as observed in self-rated ability: more use of spoken compared to written language and more use of receptive comprehension (listening, reading) compared to active production (speaking, writing) of language.

The highest level of Catalan language use in all four activities occurred in the L1 Catalan group. The percents shown indicate a higher utilization of spoken Catalan than written.

L1 Castilian speakers also show higher utilization of oral/aural Catalan than of written Catalan. A trend of higher comprehension compared to production of language is also seen in this group; utilization of Catalan for listening is higher than utilization for speaking, and utilization of Catalan for reading is higher than for writing.

There is a similar trend noted for the L1 Other group. The average utilization of Catalan by all of the groups, however, is more consistent with the higher use of oral/aural compared to written Catalan rather than the receptive vs. productive language activity pattern.

Both of the above patterns are expected in this situation. Esteva i Fabregat (1984, cites Weinreich) explains *coordinate bilingualism* on the part of Catalans and *illiterate bilingualism* on the part of immigrants resulting in a situation where the second language for L1 Catalan speakers had taken on more authority than the autochthonous Catalan language in *Catalunya*. The absence of the written tradition for a period of 40 years provides an explanation of a low literacy rate in Catalan—especially in this sample where older participants were sought and no one primary or secondary school aged was interviewed.

The receptive/comprehension vs. active/production pattern is consistent with passive bilingualism (see Calsamiglia & Tuson, 1984). This pattern also implies some degree of literacy in Catalan; if this were not the case, both reading and writing would be expected to have similar low utilization rates.

The decision to use a language may be associated with speakers' perceived abilities, especially on the part of L2 Catalan speakers. If they are confident that they can produce acceptable linguistic products (see Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991), utilization of Catalan by non-native speakers seems more likely to increase. Lack of confidence can be an obstacle to utilizing a non-native language. Many interviewees referred to the Spanish cultural concept of "el sentido del ridículo": concern about looking foolish due to doing something inadequately or inappropriately.

### Change in utilization of Catalan and Castilian

Participants were asked to consider any previous period when they thought their utilization of Catalan and Castilian was different than the 1991 utilization. See Figure 7.



**Average Change in Utilization of Catalan =  
Current Utilization of Catalan --- (minus) Previous Utilization of Catalan**

	<b>L1 CT</b>		<b>L1 CS</b>		<b>L1 other</b>		<b>all</b>	
	<i>change</i>	<i>current</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>current</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>current</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>current</i>
listen range:	+11% n = 4 0 - +30	50% n = 13 10 - 80	+19% n = 12 0 - +50	42% n = 23 5 - 80	+20% n = 4 -30-+70	39% n = 9 10 - 70	+18% n = 20 -30-+70	44% n = 45 5 - 80
speak range:	+14% n = 7 -15- +70	61% n = 16 25 - 90	+19% n = 14 -50- +60	29% n = 25 0 - 90	+4% n = 5 -30- +30	19% n = 10 0 - 40	+15% n = 26 -50- +60	42% n = 51 0 - 90
read range:	+15% n = 6 0 - +30	32% n = 16 0 - 50	+15% n = 12 0 - +50	18% n = 23 0 - 50	+12% n = 5 -40- +50	15% n = 10 0 - 50	+14% n = 23 -40- +50	22% n = 49 0 - 50
write range:	+12% n = 6 0 - +30	33% n = 16 0 - 100	+1% n = 13 -30- +15	5% n = 23 0 - 40	-13% n = 4 -50 - 0	2% n = 10 0 - 20	+1% n = 23 -50- +60	14% n = 49 0 - 100

**Figure 7**

L1 = first language. CT = Catalan. CS = Castilian. "Previous" is specified differently for each participant, in terms of "years ago". The numerical percents given in this figure indicate the current utilization minus any previous utilization rate of any participant for any stated time period, averaged for all speakers responding.

As indicated in Figure 7, all groups indicated some increase in all language activity areas with the exception of writing in the L1 Other group. This particular result can be explained by the presence of one participant who said his utilization had significantly decreased combined with almost all other participants indicating that they did not write in Catalan either now or in earlier periods. The average for all participants responding to this item still indicates a slight increase of 1 % for writing in Catalan in 1991.

In terms of listening and speaking, L1 Castilian participants indicated higher increases in utilization of Catalan than L1 Catalan participants did. Both groups were equal in increased reading in Catalan. L1 Catalan participants indicated the highest increase in the utilization of written Catalan.

It is important to see the increase in the use of written Catalan. Catalans have been speakers throughout the previous and present socio-political situations, but have not always been writers due to the prohibition of publications in Catalan and the absence of Catalan reading and writing in public schools during much of the Franco period. L1 Catalan speakers can have the greatest impact on the linguistic territory of Catalan through advancing their use of the written language. Increased literacy, whether through reading and/or writing, facilitates the establishment of Catalan as an official language as well as increases the market for publications. Considering that the present sample of participants does not include primary or secondary school aged children, the reported increases in actual reading and writing seem important.<sup>7</sup>

As a group, L1 Castilian speakers primarily contribute to increasing the territory of Catalan through increased use of speaking and writing, i.e., by changing from passive to more active bilingualism. These results indicate some increase in active bilingualism, at least in spoken language.

All increases in actual utilization of language are important as each type of language activity has an influence on the linguistic environment. Increased listening (ability and utilization) supposes the audience for television and radio. Speaking affects person to person interactions and shows one's compliance--or non-compliance--with trends in social norms of languages spoken in different situations. Increased use of written Catalan establishes authority for the language (see Stubbs, 1981, regarding written language) and also increases the market for Catalan publications. Catalan increases its territory in that it becomes more audible and visible through individuals and mass media.

In these results, an increase in use of Catalan also implies a decrease in the use of Castilian on the part of these interviewees. The reasons given for their perceived changes in ability and utilization of Catalan are given in Figure 8.

Reasons for Changes in Ability and Utilization of Catalan

L1	Reasons for increase		Reasons for decrease	
L1 CT	work related	1	leaving work (retiring)	1
	more Catalan in environment	2		
	took courses	1		
	return to Barcelona	1		
L1 CS	work	1	work	1
	came to Barcelona	4	finished school	1
	more Catalan in environment	1		
	took courses	2		
	met spouse	2		
	school	1		
L1 Other	finished school	1		
	came to Barcelona	5	finished university	1
	more Catalan in environment	1		

Figure 8

The reasons given are associated with the overall change in ability and utilization—not with a specific language skill activity—for any particular speaker.

The most prominent factors associated with increased use of Catalan are: coming to live in Barcelona, more Catalan in the environment, courses and school. All of these indicate that Catalan is noticeable as the dominant language in Barcelona by newcomers (many of whom are Castilian speakers), and that formal language planning interventions, such as language course offerings, are being attended and influencing some people to use more Catalan.

### Domains

Speakers were asked to state situations in which it seemed best for them to speak Catalan and situations in which it seemed best for them to speak Castilian. See Figure 9.

Situations for Speaking Catalan and Castilian

L1	Situations for Catalan		Situations for Castilian	
Catalan	almost all	5	work	2
	family and parents	4	police	2
	specific people	2	specific people	2
	friends	1	doctor	1
	official Catalan offices	1	visitors to Catalunya	1
	in Catalunya	1	Other person doesn't understand Catalan	1
Castilian			Out of Catalunya	1
	work	6	work	2
	shopping	2	home	3
	sports club	1	family	2
	with spouse	1	friends	1
	with "catalanista" people	1	specific people	1
	no situations	1	all situations	2
			outside of work	2
Other	work	2	work	1
	with children	1	home	1
	villages	1	all situations	3
	specific people	1		
	people who don't speak Castilian well	1		

Figure 9

n = number of times the situation was stated. Individual interviewees sometimes gave more than one response; some interviewees did not respond to this item.

Work situations are the most commonly indicated for using Catalan by L1 Castilian speakers in this study. The inclusion of "shopping" by two L1 Castilian speakers may indicate that Catalan is gaining some economic power within the commercial circles of some

non-native speakers who shop at "Catalan" stores (also see, Strubell i Trueta, 1984)<sup>8</sup>. It is interesting to find that some "clients" report converging to the in-group language of the shop keeper as this is the situation where the "customer is always right" rule would allow use of the client's language as an unmarked choice. (See Bourhis, 1983; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988, regarding the use of French and English in Quebec.) L1 Catalan speakers also report using Castilian for work, indicating that both languages are influential in economic domains. The "specific people" response indicates that the interlocutor is a type of domain.

### Language choices and code switching

The bilingual repertoires of many speakers have been and are in transition: for the most part, advancing their skills in Catalan with little change in their skills in Castilian. Language choice is related to the bilingual abilities of each individual, so we cannot predict that every speaker has a choice of languages in any particular situation. However, the larger context of the bilingual Barcelona society allows speakers to assume, through their day to day experience, that many people are capable in both languages and that a great deal of passive bilingualism exists. Additionally, current governmental language planning efforts are directed towards changing the previous governmental language policies. So, macro-level conventions and expectations are known to the overall community regardless of individuals' abilities in each language (see Bourhis, 1983). Catalan had become the dominant linguistic market (LM1, see Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991) in Barcelona and people expected interactions to occur in Catalan in more and more situations; however, because of the transitional stage, there may be some variation in perceiving marked and unmarked choices in various conversation situations (see Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993; & Scotton, 1988, 1987).

Using the unexpected language is a marked choice. However, which language is marked still depends on the situation, the speakers and their group associations. In Catalunya, during this state of transition in the dominant language, a marked language choice might be *positively* or *negatively* marked. For example, a non-native Catalan speaker deciding to begin a conversation in Catalan might be viewed positively by L1 Catalan speakers but negatively by L1 Castilian speakers. Conversely, L1 Catalan speakers with strong feelings about language and ethnic identity might view L2 speakers of Catalan as non-Catalan group members who should not use the Catalan language.

Initiating a conversation in the situationally unexpected language, may be viewed as marked. Likewise, responding in a language different from that which was used to begin the dialog may be considered marked. Changing the language in mid-conversation, i.e., after the initiation by interlocutor 1 and the response by interlocutor 2 have been established, is the clearest case of a marked code switch. Within a person's social circles, there are known and unknown interlocutors. The bilingualism of known interlocutors is clear. With new interlocutors, it is not always clear which language might be the most appropriate choice. Figure 10 shows the participants' decisions about choosing a code for 1) initiating a conversation with an unknown interlocutor, 2) responding to another interlocutor's initiation of a conversation, or 3) changing the code of a conversation which is in progress. Though Barcelona is a bilingual city, not all speakers consider themselves to be bilingual.

**Points in Verbal Exchanges where Speakers may have a Choice of Language**

L1	Initiate Conversation			Response to				Conversation in Progress		
	CS	CT	Either	to CS		to CT		CS to CT	CT to CS	Both
				cs	ct	cs	ct			
CS bilingual yes 19/no 13	32	1	3	25	0	8	17	1	4	
CT bilingual yes 18/no 0	3	13	2	14	0 (a)	0	16	0	1	3
Other bilingual yes 7/no 1	9	1	1	10	0	5	6	0	3	2
All bilingual yes 44/no 14	44	15	6	49	0 (a)	13	39	1	8	7

**Figure 10**

(a) Two (2) L1 CT speakers said they would respond to CS with either CT or CS.

L1 Other includes: Dutch, French/ Castilian, Galician, Galician/Castilian, Menorquin and one Catalan/Castilian who insisted on both CS/CT as L1.

The individual repertoire of linguistic ability in each language is a factor in each participants' response. The numbers here include all the interviewees who responded to these items with their self-reported behavior at the stated conversation points, regardless of their ability to switch to one language or the other. The self-reported description of being bilingual or not is indicated as a context. Not all interviewees indicated their bilingualism.

### Initiating a conversation with an unknown interlocutor

The results displayed in Figure 10 indicate that Catalan is not marked—it is expected. At the same time, Castilian is not necessarily marked either. That both languages be, for the most part, unmarked for initiating a conversation is consistent with transition, where the new and the old occur side by side.

Another factor involved with choosing a language for initiating a conversation is the idea that many people seem to think that they are able to "know", even before speaking, what the L1 of the other interlocutor is. Several interviewees said such things as, "if the person looks like a Catalan (or a Castilian), I'll speak x (or y) language to them. Such physical and stylistic cues which allow the speaker to know or to suppose the L1 of the potential interlocutor are also discussed in Woolard (1989a).

### Responding to another interlocutor

Figure 10 shows almost complete convergent accommodation (see Genesee & Bourhis, 1988) to Castilian in conversations opened in Castilian by all three first language groups. Although L1 Catalan speakers would not respond to Catalan with Castilian, the L1 Castilian and L1 Other groups include speakers who would respond to Catalan with Castilian. However, that several L1 Castilian and L1 Other speakers did report that they respond to Catalan with Catalan indicates that Catalan is expected as a possible conversation opening and that some speakers are confident enough in their ability to respond in their second (non-native) language. In terms of the work by Jaspaert and Kroon (1991) and also Bourdieu, (1982), L1 Castilian and L1 Other speakers are participating in the dominant linguistic market of Catalan, implying confidence in their ability to produce linguistic products, in Catalan, which they anticipate will be acceptable to L1 Catalan speakers.

### Code change in a conversation in progress

According to Figure 10, a language switch in mid-conversation is more likely to be from Catalan to Castilian, especially on the part of L1 Castilian and L1 Other speakers. However, in both groups there are speakers who report that they might switch to either language. This indicates that there should be more possibilities for convergent accommodation to either Catalan or Castilian. Some participants said that they did not code switch in mid-conversation, but rather they left the language choice decisions to the other interlocutor and convergently accommodated. Reasons for changing languages are shown in Figure 11.

Reasons for Code Switching

Reason	L1 Catalan	L1 Castilian	L1 Other
if it is a long conversation			1
to express oneself better		3	2
having lived only a short time in Barcelona		2	
borrowing a word or phrase from CT or CS and then continuing in that language			1
politeness	1		
to make it easier for the other speaker	1	3	
follow the other speaker's lead (switch)	1		1
new interlocutor enters the conversation	1		
encourage the other person to speak Catalan	1		

Figure 11

The number of times the reason was mentioned is shown.

Reasons for a code switch by L1 Catalan speakers mainly involve accommodation to the other interlocutor. L1 Castilian speakers indicated switches for their own linguistic comfort and also to accommodate the other speaker.

In the past, many L1 Catalan speakers would switch to Castilian—even if the L1 Castilian speaker was bilingual—or if the L1 Castilian speaker was passively bilingual and able to understand Catalan (see Woolard, 1989, pp. 69 - 71).

As Catalan advances as the expected language, more speakers may be opting to learn and use Catalan. Not speaking Catalan, in some situations, can be viewed as marked, so that it might be seen as a strategy to learn the unmarked language in order to maintain neutrality (Myers-Scotton, 1976), to avoid or to manage conflict (Heller, 1988) and to have the option to code switch purposefully (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1995).

### Known interlocutors

Because this study is interested in speakers' personal language environments, interviewees were asked to consider their daily routines and the interlocutors with whom they interacted repeatedly. They were asked whether or not they spoke the non-native language to anyone in their own L1 group, or if they maintained L1 with other L1 group members, and if there were people with whom they alternated languages. See Figure 12.

**Self-report of whether or not a speaker ever uses the language  
with an interlocutor of the stated L1**

Speaker's L1	Do you ever speak CT/CS to Interlocutor of L1 CT/CS				alternate CT, CS with the Same Person	
	speak CS to L1 CT		speak CT to L1 CS			
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
CT	7	9	16	0	12	6
CS	18	3	11	11	11	7
Other	7	1	4	4	5	3
All	32	14	31	15	28	16

**Figure 12**

Not all speakers responded to each item.

*Real choice* of language (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991) occurs between bilingual members of the same L1 group. Using the L1 with other members of the L1 group is maintenance of L1; using L2 with other bilingual members of the L1 group indicates shift for L1.

During the Franco period, many L1 Catalan speakers spoke to each other in Castilian. One of the interviewees said that now he would always speak Catalan to another L1 Catalan speaker—except his wife; they have always spoken Castilian with each other in spite of both having Catalan as their first language.

The results from these interviewees indicate that though some L1 Catalan speakers are maintaining Catalan within the L1 group, others continue to speak Castilian to some L1 Catalan speakers. Additionally, all the L1 Catalan speakers confirmed that they would speak Catalan to an L1 Castilian speaker; there is no reported use, by L1 Catalan speakers in this sampling, of Catalan as an in-group only language (see Calsamiglia & Tuson, 1984; Woolard, 1989a; Woolard & Gahng, 1990).<sup>9</sup>

L1 Castilian speakers show some maintenance of L1 with other L1 group members, but also show some speakers using Catalan with L1 Castilian speakers. This may indicate the potential for a shift in Castilian.

### Conclusions

This study confirmed that some speakers in Barcelona perceived an increase in their abilities and utilization of the Catalan language in recent years since the beginning of official language planning on the part of the Catalan government. Factors associated with these changes were moving to Barcelona, work, marriage, taking courses, school and perception of more Catalan in the environment. L1 Catalan speakers reported increasing their use of written Catalan. L1 Castilian speakers report advancing their use of spoken and written Catalan. All

groups of speakers, on the average, reported increasing their abilities as well as utilization of Catalan.

Based on the self-reports of code switching and language choice with particular interlocutors, perceptions of marked language choices seem to be changing. Where Castilian had previously been considered the expected language choice for speaking with an unknown interlocutor, Catalan is now also acceptable among the speakers interviewed in this study. This may coincide with the idea that Catalan has become a "public language" rather than a private ethnic language (Woolard & Gahng, 1990).

With speakers expecting the use of Catalan as well as economic incentives to learn Catalan (see Paulston, 1992, and 1987 citing Shabad and Gunther, 1982; Woolard & Gahng, 1990), it is implied that the dominant linguistic market in Barcelona is that of Catalan, not only in terms of official status, but also in terms of speakers' perceptions, expectations and language choices, as indicated by many of the speakers interviewed in this study.

L2 Catalan speakers' confidence in their ability to create acceptable linguistic products in Catalan for participation in LM1 (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991) can be inferred from these speakers' self-report of increased ability and increased utilization of the Catalan language. These results take on some importance within the historical context of Castilian having been the dominant language until only sixteen years previously, well within the life experience of these speakers; these L2 Catalan speakers must speak Catalan in a way which is acceptable to L1 Catalan speakers who were previously the linguistically oppressed; and, also, within a social context where in-group and out-group language choices (see Calsamiglia & Tuson, 1984) may be operating. Woolard and Gahng (1990, p. 327) indicate, however, that there is still a lack of opportunity for L1 Castilian speakers to use Catalan with L1 Catalan speakers.

The overall success of maintenance, and perhaps potential spread, of Catalan are indicated by the language behaviors reported in this study. With increased use of Catalan, there is also a possibility for shift in Castilian. This situation requires further, ongoing study.

This study also provides detailed information about individual speakers' perceived language behaviors, including self-reports of actual use of Catalan and Castilian. Measuring shift and maintenance at the level of the individual speaker requires methodology including self-report at various time periods and also construction of language profiles or "language histories" (see De Vries, 1992); this study has included many such elements. The follow-up (in preparation by this author) plans to include data collection concerning speakers' attitudes and socio-political and cultural view points as well as refinements in attempts to measure shift and maintenance of Catalan and Castilian, and to further identify factors associated with language choices in individual speakers.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The term Castilian in this paper refers to the variety of the Spanish language which is considered the national language of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Jaspaert and Kroon's (1991) work involves many details; I have selected only these three items which they refer to as "intermediary concepts" in their framework.

<sup>3</sup> Information has been requested from the L'Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana. Further searches for additional literature will be done in Barcelona as part of the follow-up study.

<sup>4</sup> This report focuses on the abilities and use of the Catalan language. As speakers here consistently rated themselves with high Castilian ability, the Castilian data is not presented in further detail here. Castilian ability and use will be considered in more detail in the follow-up work.

<sup>5</sup> As little change is noted in Castilian language ability in all speaker groups, further detail regarding Castilian ability is not presented in this report. See Note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Most participants cite Catalan and Castilian as the languages which affect their lives on a daily basis; though, a few participants stated being tri-lingual and/or involved with other languages. In these cases, the estimated time spent using other languages was ignored, and the estimated time spent using Catalan + Castilian considered to be 100%.

<sup>7</sup> Because of the current official status of Catalan and its re-integration into the school system (see Arnau & Boada, 1986; Siguan, 1991) in recent years, reading and writing in Catalan should be increasing on the part of young people in all groups.

<sup>8</sup> Strubell i Trueta (1984) also documents L1 Castilian speakers' use of Catalan in shops, noting that most of those who did so had been in their living areas before the Civil War. The two L1 Castilian speakers, in 1991, who reported using Catalan in shopping were 27 and 33 years old and had lived in Barcelona for 24 and 11 years, respectively.

<sup>9</sup> During the time I spent in Barcelona in the late 1980's and early 1990's, I heard a number of L1 Castilian speakers remark that they felt that Catalan speakers would not allow them to speak Catalan, and some Catalan speakers confirmed that they thought it seemed inappropriate for a Castilian speaker to speak Catalan. On the other hand, many Catalan speakers complained that Castilian speakers did not bother to learn Catalan even though they had lived in Catalunya for a long time.

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## Appendix 1

### Explanation of selected items from the questionnaire used in the interview.

This questionnaire attempted to distinguish perceived ability from perceived utilization, in that having an ability or skill does not indicate how often the ability/skill is actually used. Regarding ability, this refers to understanding, speaking, reading and writing skills. The discussion of actual utilization of language refers to listening, speaking, reading and writing as activities. A distinction is made between ability to understand and the activity of listening.

1) A self-evaluation of ability in both languages at the time of data collection. A six-point scale was used with "1" being the rating for excellent ability. Numbers 1 - 6 corresponded to: excellent, very good, normal, poor, very poor and unable to use the language in terms of understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The ability in each skill area was addressed separately. After completing this self-assessment for abilities at the time of the interview (1991), the interviewee was then asked whether he/she had had a different ability level in either of the languages in the past. The year of the previous ability level was recorded, and then each skill area was rated with the same six-point scale according to the interviewee's recollection.

2) A self-report of perceived utilization of Catalan and Castilian at the time of data collection (1991). In this section, utilization of Catalan + utilization of Castilian = 100%. The skill areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing are addressed separately. The participant was asked to consider her/his typical day or typical week and the asked, "Approximately what percent of your listening time is done in Castilian and what percent in Catalan?" Each activity is considered separately, so that a self-report of 40% utilization of Catalan for reading, also indicates 60 % utilization of Castilian for reading for the same participant. The reported percents were recorded for listening, speaking, reading and writing. The participant was then asked whether he/she had had a different utilization ratio of the two languages at any time in the past. The year and previous utilization in each language activity was then recorded. Stated reasons for overall changes (ability and/or utilization) were recorded.

3) Domains for use of Catalan and Castilian were requested by asking the following questions:

*In what situations in your life does it seem better for you to speak in Catalan?*

*In what situations in your life does it seem better for you to speak in Castilian?*

This was an open questions and participants' answers were recorded.

4) Participants were asked whether or not they considered themselves to be bilingual in Castilian and Catalan. The answer yes or no was recorded.

5) Participants were asked about their language choices at different points in a conversation with unknown interlocutors. The following questions were asked:

1. *In what language do you usually begin a conversation with someone you do not know? Answer choices: Catalan, Castilian, Either language.*

2. *How do you answer if someone addresses you in Catalan? Answer choices: Catalan, Castilian, Either language.*

3. *How do you answer if someone addresses you in Castilian? Answer choices: Catalan, Castilian, Either language.*

4. *If you decide to change languages in the middle of a conversation how do you change? Answer choices: from Castilian to Catalan, from Catalan to Castilian, Both*

*possibilities.*

Reasons for changing the language of an interaction were recorded.

6) Self-report of perceived language choices with known interlocutors was requested. Known interlocutor means that the speaker knows the L1 and L2 of the interlocutor. The questions used:

1. *Do you sometimes speak Castilian to persons who have Catalan as their first language? Answer choices: yes, no.*
2. *Do you sometimes speak Catalan to persons who have Castilian as their first language? Answer choices: yes, no.*
3. *Do you know anyone to whom you speak sometimes in Catalan and sometimes in Castilian? Answer choices: yes, no.*

## Appendix 2

Profile of Participants

	L1 CT	L1 CS	L1 Other	All
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
<b>number</b>	19 (100%)	38 (100%)	12 (100%)	69 (100%)
<b>men</b>	14 (74 %)	24 (63%)	7 (58%)	45 (65%)
<b>women</b>	5 (26%)	14 (37%)	5 (42%)	24 (35%)
<b>age range in years</b>	28 - 72	21 - 81	22 - 74	21 - 81
<b>men's age range</b>	32 - 70	24 - 73	22 - 74	22 - 74
<b>women's age range</b>	28 - 72	21 - 81	30 - 56	21 - 81
<b>born Barcelona</b>	16 (84%)	13 (34%)	2 (17%)	31 (45%)
<b>10+ years in Barcelona</b>	19 (100%)	13 (87%)	11 (92%)	63 (91%)
<b>primary education</b>	7 (37%)	13 (34%)	6 (50%)	26 (38%)
<b>secondary education</b>	5 (26%)	16 (45%)	2 (17%)	23 (33%)
<b>tertiary education</b>	7 (37%)	8 (21%)	4 (33%)	19 (28%)
<b>Catalan courses</b>	7 (37%)	13 (34%)	3 (25%)	23 (33%)

CT = Catalan, CS = Castilian, L1 = first language. The L1 Other includes: Dutch, French/ Castilian, Galician, Galician/Castilian, Menorquin and one Catalan/Castilian who insisted on both CS/CT as L1. Catalan courses include primary and secondary education courses as well as courses offered by community centers.